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E.O. 12958: DECL: 5/28/04
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SUBJECT: PAKISTANI NUCLEAR TEST: SECURITY COUNCIL
FAILS TO ADOPT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

CLASSIFIED BY POLCOUNSELOR WILLIAM B. WOOD, PER REASONS
1.5 (B) AND (D).

¶1. (C) SUMMARY: ON MAY 28 THE SECURITY COUNCIL COULD NOT ISSUE A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT "STRONGLY DEPLORING" THE MAY 28 PAKISTANI NUCLEAR TEST. DESPITE MAY 28 LATE NIGHT SECURITY COUNCIL CONSULTATIONS OF THE WHOLE, THE CHINESE SAID THEY WERE WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS. DURING EARLIER INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS, THE SWEDES, COSTA RICANS, JAPANESE AND OTHERS RAISED THE PAKISTANI NUCLEAR TESTS. RUSSIAN PERMREP LAVROV TABLED A DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT WORKED OUT WITH THE US. DELEGATION AND CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE ADOPTION. AMBASSADOR RICHARDSON SUPPORTED HIM. DESPITE CHINESE AGREEMENT TO AN AD REF TEXT, WHICH THEY RECOMMENDED BEIJING ACCEPT, THE CHINESE ASKED AT A LATE-NIGHT COUNCIL SESSION FOR DELAY UNTIL FRIDAY, MAY 29. DRAFT TEXT PARA 9 BELOW. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ISSUED A STATEMENT MAY 28 (TEXT IN PARA 7 BELOW). END SUMMARY.

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

¶2. (C) DURING MAY 28 SECURITY COUNCIL INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS, THE SWEDISH, COSTA RICAN, JAPANESE, BRAZILIAN AND OTHER DELEGATIONS RAISED THE PAKISTANI NUCLEAR TESTS. THEY SAID THE PURSUIT OF NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES BY INDIA AND PAKISTAN WAS A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND CALLED ON THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT TO MAKE A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS "AT A MINIMUM." AMBASSADOR RICHARDSON AND RUSSIAN PERMREP LAVROV AGREED. THE COUNCIL MUST ACT QUICKLY, HE SAID, BUT THE REACTION SHOULD BE A BALANCED, CAREFUL ONE. HE RECOMMENDED A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF THE ONE CONCERNING INDIA, ISSUED MAY 14. HE CIRCULATED A DRAFT STATEMENT WORKED OUT WITH THE U.S. DELEGATION. THE DRAFT TEXT IS BASED ON THE 14 MAY STATEMENT AND THE TEXT OF A SUBSEQUENT U.S./RUSSIAN DRAFT (WHICH HAD NOT BEEN INTRODUCED) THAT CALLS FOR DIALOGUE BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. AMBASSADOR RICHARDSON SUPPORTED IMMEDIATE ADOPTION OF THE STATEMENT.

CALLS FOR MORE-ENCOMPASSING COUNCIL ACTION

¶3. (C) AMBASSADOR OWADA (JAPAN) SAID THAT IN ADDITION TO ACTION ON THE PAKISTANI NUCLEAR TEST, THE COUNCIL SHOULD ADDRESS THE COMBINED EFFECT OF BOTH INDIA'S AND PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR EFFORTS. THE SECURITY COUNCIL -- AND THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY -- MUST NOW BEGIN TO LOOK AT NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUES IN A NEW WAY. THE COUNCIL MUST BEGIN CONSIDERATION OF A RESOLUTION THAT CONVEYS THIS BROADER VIEW.

14. (C) AMBASSADOR DAHLGREN (SWEDEN AGREED WITH NEED FOR URGENT COUNCIL ACTION. HE SAID HE HAD INSTRUCTIONS TO PUSH FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

(SWEDISH/JAPANESE DRAFT RESOLUTION FAXED TO IO/UNP.)

RICHARDSON CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

15. (C) AMBASSADOR RICHARDSON SAID THAT PAKISTAN'S DECISION TO DETONATE A NUCLEAR DEVICE WAS A "LOST OPPORTUNITY." HE RECOUNTED INTERNATIONAL AND U.S. EFFORTS TO AVOID THE PRESENT CRISIS. WHAT WAS NEEDED NOW WAS RAPID, CONCRETE ACTION. INDIA AND PAKISTAN MUST SIGN THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY, BEGIN A DIALOGUE, AND REVERSE THE ARMS RACE THEY STARTED. IN THE MEANTIME, THE COUNCIL NEEDS TO RESPOND TO THE PAKISTANI TEST TODAY.

16. (C) ONLY THE CHINESE RESISTED. IN A MORNING MEETING OF EXPERTS, THEY ATTEMPTED TO MODIFY THE LANGUAGE TO SHIFT THE RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THE INDIANS. NO DELEGATION ACCEPTED THEIR PROPOSALS. IN AFTERNOON CONSULTATIONS, THEY AGAIN ARGUED THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS FROM BEIJING. IN A SUBSEQUENT P-5 MEETING, THE CHINESE AGREED AD REF TO A TEXT. THE COUNCIL CONVENED AT 10:30 P.M. TO APPROVE IT, BUT THE CHINESE SAID THAT, IN SPITE OF HAVING MADE A POSITIVE RECOMMENDATION TO BEIJING, THEY STILL HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS TO AGREE. THEY MADE NO SUBSTANTIVE OBJECTIONS. THE COUNCIL WILL RECONVENE MAY 29 A.M. (TEXT AT PARA 11 BELOW.)

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY GENERAL

17. (U) BEGIN SYG'S STATEMENT:

I DEPLORE BOTH THE INDIAN AND PAKISTANI TESTS. THEY EXACERBATE TENSION IN AN ALREADY DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP.

I CALL ON BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO SIGN THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY. THEY MIGHT ALSO SIGN A NO-FIRST-USE PLEDGE WITH EACH OTHER.

FINALLY, BOTH NATIONS SHOULD FREEZE THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS. THE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS SHOULD DECREASE, NOT INCREASE.

AS WE APPROACH THE NEW CENTURY, WE SHOULD BE ASKING HOW BEST TO PRESERVE LIFE, CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION, NOT HOW TO BECOME MORE DESTRUCTIVE.

END SYG STATEMENT.

PRESS STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

18. (U) BEGIN PRESS STATEMENT OF COUNCIL PRESIDENT:

THE COUNCIL STRONGLY DEPLORED THE TWO UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTS CONDUCTED BY PAKISTAN ON 28 MAY 1998, DESPITE THE INTERNATIONAL CALL FOR RESTRAINT. THEY CALLED UPON PAKISTAN AND INDIA TO STOP ALL NUCLEAR TESTING AND RELATED ACTIVITY IMMEDIATELY. THE COUNCIL IS WORKING ON A FORMAL REACTION IN THE FORM OF A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT PROBABLY TODAY.

END SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT'S PRESS STATEMENT.

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT TEXT

19. (U) THE LATEST DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT TEXT FOLLOWS::

BEGIN DRAFT STATEMENT:

THE SECURITY COUNCIL STRONGLY DEPLORES THE UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTS THAT PAKISTAN CONDUCTED ON 28 MAY 1998, DESPITE OVERWHELMING INTERNATIONAL CONCERN AND CALLS FOR RESTRAINT. REAFFIRMING ITS 14 MAY PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT (S/PRST/12) ON THE INDIAN NUCLEAR TESTS OF 11 AND 13 MAY, THE SECURITY COUNCIL STRONGLY URGES INDIA AND PAKISTAN TO REFRAIN FROM ANY FURTHER TESTS. IT IS OF THE VIEW THAT TESTING BY INDIA AND THEN BY PAKISTAN IS CONTRARY TO THE DE FACTO MORATORIUM ON THE TESTING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR OTHER NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE DEVICES, AND TO GLOBAL EFFORTS TOWARDS NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION AND NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. THE COUNCIL ALSO EXPRESSES ITS CONCERN AT THE EFFECTS OF THIS DEVELOPMENT ON PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL REAFFIRMS THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS (NPT) AND THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY (CTBT). THE COUNCIL APPEALS TO INDIA AND PAKISTAN, AND ALL OTHER STATES WHICH HAVE NOT YET DONE SO, TO BECOME PARTIES TO THE NPT, AND TO THE CTBT, WITHOUT DELAY AND WITHOUT CONDITIONS. THE COUNCIL ALSO ENCOURAGES INDIA AND PAKISTAN TO PARTICIPATE, IN A POSITIVE SPIRIT, IN THE PROPOSED NEGOTIATIONS WITH OTHER STATES FOR A FISSIONABLE MATERIAL CUT-OFF TREATY IN GENEVA WITH A VIEW TO REACHING EARLY AGREEMENT.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL CALLS UPON ALL PARTIES TO EXERCISE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT AND TO TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO REDUCE AND REMOVE TENSIONS BETWEEN THEM. THE COUNCIL REAFFIRMS THAT THE SOURCES OF TENSION IN SOUTH ASIA SHOULD BE REDUCED AND ELIMINATED ONLY THROUGH PEACEFUL DIALOGUE AND NOT BY THE USE OF FORCE OR OTHER MILITARY MEANS.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL URGES INDIA AND PAKISTAN TO RESUME THEIR DIALOGUE ON ALL OUTSTANDING BILATERAL ISSUES, INCLUDING ALL THOSE THAT THE PARTIES HAVE ALREADY DISCUSSED, IN ORDER TO REMOVE THE TENSIONS BETWEEN THEM AND TO ENHANCE THEIR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COOPERATION. THE COUNCIL CALLS UPON INDIA AND PAKISTAN TO AVOID ANY STEPS OR STATEMENTS THAT COULD LEAD TO FURTHER INSTABILITY OR IMPEDE THEIR BILATERAL DIALOGUE.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL REMAIN SEIZED OF THE MATTER.

END DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT.

RICHARDSON